

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

"**T**HERE be land rats and water rats, land thieves and water thieves," about New York City, and if half that is told about the Health Officer of the port is true, we have in him a very fit companion for the men who have been plastering and repairing the new Court-house. The Health Officer is despotic at the quarantine grounds especially for those months of the year, and over those vessels, in which is done the bulk of our trade with West Indian and other ports, called quarantine ports. The legitimate income of the place is large, having been in 1869 something like \$37,000 in fees for mere inspection of vessels; while the gains (net) from vaccination of passengers and fumigating vessels are set at an annual average of more than \$20,000. But our present Health Officer, looking about last year for an additional source of income, discovered it in selling to certain persons the sole privilege of towing, lightering, and stevedoring at quarantine—a business which had previously been, as it should be, open to free competition. These persons he permitted to charge about four prices for their work, and with him they divided the spoil, he getting for his services in compelling captains to employ his partners \$20,000 down, and \$1,250 a week in advance. They broke down under the Health Officer's weight, and this year the same system of pillaging is in force, about three prices being charged instead of four, and Dr. Carnochan manages matters himself without an intermediary. By the bye, the compulsory vaccination of some hundreds of people—it often happens—by a physician of this kind, who is probably very cautious and scrupulous about the lymph he uses, is an agreeable thing to think of. The piratical character of the quarantine arrangements—which, of course, work gross injury to the commerce of the port—may be seen in the comparative cost of getting a three-hundred-ton Cuban brig, with a clean bill of health, into Boston, and of getting her through Dr. Carnochan's hands. At Boston it would probably be \$15, more or less, as the vessel would not be fumigated, and the time of delay would be less than half-an-hour. In our harbor she would be fumigated whether or no—or charged for fumigation—and the charge would be \$15; she would be charged \$55 for towage, which in Boston would cost her \$10, and there would be \$5 more to "Mr. O'Rourke" for examining hatches. These charges were actually made, and are constantly; and the difference in favor of the port of Boston in the case of the three-hundred-ton brig is \$60. Our Health Officer, however, is probably a wealthier man than the Boston one; and has a good deal more political influence. Ours was appointed by Governor Hoffman, who is understood to have made the appointment with a reluctance which, no doubt, is now generally intelligible.

But after the ship-owner has escaped the doctor and his coopers and stevedores, he has the harbor-masters to meet, and, according to the printed charges—which they seem no readier to meet than the Mayor to meet those made against him—they in their turn levy on the commerce of New York an annual tax in the shape of tribute to their private treasures of not less than a round million of dollars. There are ten of them, all appointed, and all appointed on our rigid American system of securing fitness in office and getting the public economically served—that is to say, they have all rendered services to the party; they all sought the office, and the office did not seek them; some of them know the bow of a canal-boat from the stern; others of them had seen full-rigged ships before their induction to office; and out of the whole ten, it is not estimated that there are many of them who are not thoroughly acquainted with the hereinafter-described system of transacting their business. A clause in the law defining the powers and duties of harbor-masters says that no master of a vessel shall move her from one part of the harbor to another without having obtained permission from the harbor-master in whose district he may

happen to be. A shipmaster wishing to get this permission—and from twenty-five to thirty daily may be taken as the number wanting it in each district—he looks about for a harbor-master, whom usually, it is said, the shipmaster cannot find. A certain captain of a tug boat, however, can always be seen, and the shipmaster finds that in case he can come to an agreement with that person as to the berth at the dock or the position in the stream which he wishes to take, the harbor-master, for his part, never makes any difficulty. Only the shipmaster finds that he must pay to his friend, the tug-boat captain, about four times as much money for towage as he would have to pay in any other waters; and he finds that as long as he remains at the berth a certain sum weekly in advance must be paid to the harbor-master, and that he must stipulate that all his towing shall be done by this particular tug-boat. If he curses and declines to do these things, he is permitted to stay where he is till the use of his reason returns to him, which is in no very long time, as he cannot move his ship without the harbor-master's leave, and, soon or late, moving his ship is a necessity to him—a fact of which our harbor-master was aware before he came down from the interior of the State, even when he first began rendering services to the party. We trust thoughtful and sincere people, without "constitutional objections" to civil service reform, will keep their eyes on the various illustrations that New York is just now furnishing of the condition to which the appointment system has brought a city in which one might have thought business interests and competition would compel something a little more like honesty.

We have had recent proof that the New York community is capable of being aroused; on the 11th and 12th of last month it was certainly in a very vicious temper, and would have turned out a hundred thousand men if necessary to guard the Orangemen walking in procession; but it is beyond a doubt that, despite the noise made in the papers, the city seems to be quite apathetic over the discoveries made in the Comptroller's office. It knew of them before, to be sure, in a general way at least, but one would have supposed that in no city in Christendom could the specified items of account which appeared in the *Times* have been published without arousing an indignation that would have demanded some definite satisfaction. Here, however, is the way in which Hall talks—and why he shouldn't if he likes it is not easy to see, except that he might in decency be content with the money and be a trifle less impudent. "Threatened men, the old proverb tells us, have long lives. Our friends in the country districts must not be surprised if the City Government of New York apply the principle of this proverb to their own case, and find good reason therein for treating with amiable contempt the furious diatribes now daily launched against them." He adds that "while the *Times* frets and rages, Comptroller Connolly admirably keeps his temper," which certainly is vastly to his credit, under the circumstances. The Mayor tells us, too, what the expectation of the Tammany leaders is, and there is precious little doubt that, despite the reputability of Mr. Seymour and Mr. Tilden, and other leaders, Hall and his friends are not relying on a reed that will fail them when they expect the party in general to sustain them for the sake of the Tammany voting power. Says the Mayor: "New York City is the great Democratic stronghold of the country. Shake the Democratic hold upon this mighty metropolis, and you shake the Democratic hold upon the Empire State"; shake its hold on the State, and the Republicans must continue in power at the Federal capital, etc. But the country districts will be apt to give the Mayor another response than he is bargaining for.

We suggest to such of our daily contemporaries as may be in search of news in this dull season that they endeavor to get replies in the proper quarters to these two questions: Has the Tweed Arms Company been for some time in the habit of purchasing of the Allen Arms Company such parts of the arms made by the latter as were, by reason

of some flaw or imperfection, deemed by the Allen Company unfit for use? And is there any truth in the rumor, which we believe we saw in print in the *World*, that it is the intention of Mr. Tweed and the other fathers of our city to re-equip, so far as rifles go, the city regiments of the National Guard? Because, in case both these questions can be answered in the affirmative, there will be much solicitude on the part of many young men to retire speedily from military service, especially on days in which ball-cartridge is to be used, and the efficiency of our volunteer force will be much impaired.

The Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, "H. V. B.", begins one of his late letters with the assertion that "the Conservative Republican theory of Ku-klux outrages must be abandoned," and that the facts brought out by the Congressional Committee to investigate outrages done in the South show that "the loyal people of the North must once more make reconstruction *the issue of a political campaign*." These last are words of an ominous sound; but we venture to say that the man in the United States to-day in whose ear they would sound most ominous is the professional politician in whose mouth they have been oftenest during the last five years, and within the last ten months; and that not Mr. James M. Ashley himself would care to go on the platform, and undertake to carry the next Presidential election on *the issue* that reconstruction is not done yet, and, indeed, is to be done all over again. Why? people will ask. And what is the answer that "H. V. B." would give them? He certainly has an impressive one.

He is a good observer, a faithful reporter, a highly intelligent man, by no means immoderate in his opinions and sentiments; and he makes report which, briefly, is to this effect, concerning two prominent witnesses before the committee above-mentioned. One was a general, one a colonel, in the Confederate army; both are to some extent in politics; both are men of consideration in the part of the country where they live as neighbors. One had just been before the committee, had testified in the stereotyped manner—namely, that there was little or no disturbance in his neighborhood; that there was no Ku-klux; that there were no outrages for political reasons—and he called upon his friend, the colonel, to tell him what he had said to the examiners, and to secure perfect agreement between his story and the colonel's. To this the colonel replied that he should tell the exact truth; reminded the general that the "Klan" was in active existence at their home; that it had murdered a certain acquaintance of theirs; that it had met on the general's plantation on the night it rode to kill the murdered man; that he himself had a list of sixty of the gang, some of whom he intended to denounce and punish. All this we are inclined to believe. We are aware of "H. V. B.'s" claims to respect, and are aware, too, that in such matters it is very hard for a Southern gentleman, on his oath before Yankees, to satisfy his mind that he *knows* with sufficient certainty to swear to things which it is excessively odious to him to concede as true, though he does know perfectly well that they are true, and that he has gone dangerously near to perjury in denying them. Others do perjure themselves out-and-out, and deny; and the perjury and the outrages and the blind folly are all bad enough. But nevertheless, there is not a politician in the country who would have the face to go frankly before the people, and say to them: Six years ago, we began reconstructing the South; you gave us unlimited power, all of which we used and not sparingly; the States are at last in the Union—are there just as New York is; but we find, as we look over them, that we have not changed the nature of the Southern man; we wish, therefore, to take another six years at him. Every act of the Ku-klux, till its final act of disbandment, makes stronger the hold of the Republican party on the country; but though the story of their outrages must of course be heard of from the Republican platform, the platform itself must not be made out of it, or success is hopeless.

Mr. Carl Schurz, who makes about the ablest speech that is now made by any of the leaders of the Republican party, has just been ad-

dressing a large meeting of Germans in Chicago. The main difficulties of the South, the Senator said, are two; the one was the banding together of men whose object was to keep down by violence the colored men and the white Unionists, and the other is the administration of the State governments by rapacious and unscrupulous men called carpet-baggers. The remedy for the evils arising from both these causes must, the speaker pointed out, come from the people themselves, and not from penal legislation by Congress; and, in his opinion, relief could come neither from the Republican party nor the Democratic, but must be sought in the union of the good men of both parties. This a general amnesty, which had worked wonders in Missouri in allaying hatred and strife, would greatly promote, and it had been, he thought, far too long delayed, and could not come too soon. As for such penal legislation as the Ku-klux law, Mr. Schurz asserted that it was not in the least true that the Republican party in Congress had passed it out of a desire to strengthen their hold in the Southern States; the party was, as a whole, honest, and intended only to put an end, if it could, to the disorders in that region. Nevertheless, the law was of very evil tendency, because investing the Government with powers more dangerous in effect than the abuse it was sought to correct; the lion would probably keep the wolf away from the sheep, but the wisdom of calling him in for that purpose became apparent when one asks who is to keep the sheep from the lion. There is no safety, he said, for free institutions but in this: that Government shall reign supreme, and that no man, except in periods of extreme peril, shall be entrusted with dictatorial powers—as the fathers used to say in Massachusetts, "to the end that this be a government of laws and not of men"—a saying not well remembered by General Sherman, and the editors who applauded him, when he made his remark the other day about the "nonsense" of Mr. Adams's assertion that the law in question was in theory subversive of our Government, and might yet become so in fact. But it is, indeed, true that we have been so accustomed to extreme measures of late years as to forget some of the simplest and most necessary of our political maxims. We are doing better, however; and this speech of Mr. Schurz is good as calling us back to the ancient landmarks. For the rest, the Senator spoke in condemnation of the San Domingo scheme, and said that his personal relations with the President had never been anything but friendly, a personal statement which might as well have been omitted, but was coupled with a deserved rebuke to a certain Republican journal, which, in the height of the San Domingo discussion, adjured Mr. Schurz and Mr. Sumner to lay aside "their personal differences" with the President.

Cotton is lower, but with some tendency to an upward reaction. The crop at the far South is fully a week earlier than last year, while in the Northern tier of cotton States it is at least as early, a circumstance which materially improves the prospective yield. At almost all the Southern ports, the first bales of the new crop are now arriving. Breadstuffs have further declined, but are now firmer, under a decline in ocean freights and a prospective export demand. Meats are lower than ever. The great centres of the cattle trade, St. Louis and Chicago, are overrun with the Texas cattle, which were to bring untold wealth to the new railroads through Kansas, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory north of the Texas frontier, but which are now scarcely salable at any price. Cut meats and other provisions are likewise lower, the decline having resulted in ruinous losses, though there is now an appearance of greater steadiness in the markets. General trade is dull, although the great decline in the prices of all leading staples necessarily leads to some business movement. The imports from abroad are extraordinarily large, and very sanguine anticipations are indulged in concerning the fall trade. The decline in wages in some industries, and the very great fall in the principal building materials, has induced some activity in the house-building trade, although many houses erected last year remain unsold, and although the number of mechanics' liens and foreclosures of mortgages continues to increase steadily. There is no change of note in coal. In addition to the advantages of the decline in bread and meat, the people are blessed with an abundance of choice



fruit at low figures, the only drawback to which is the wastage of this priceless boon in consequence of our worse-than-barbarous system of gathering, packing, and marketing.

Money continues cheap and abundant, with here and there a faint indication of an increasing demand. Stocks have been somewhat more active at rather higher prices, but without visible cause. Gold is firmer, chiefly owing to a speculative movement to intensify the effect of the diminishing stock at the disposal of the community. Foreign exchange, from the same cause, is lower, since the scarcity of gold prevents or retards the purchase of bills. In the dearth of employment for money in Europe, American mining companies are again becoming conspicuous in London. Several large mineral properties have recently been disposed of for fabulous sums *by Cable*, showing the great advantage of the telegraph to the seller of such properties. The buyers will have time to discover these advantages more at their leisure. But there is no doubt that the recent discoveries in Utah and on the northern shore of Lake Superior are of great magnitude and importance.

The long-talked-of proposition for the prolongation of M. Thiers's term of office has finally been made in the National Assembly. The mover was M. Rivet, of the Left Centre, and the most important points were these: that the title of President of the Republic be conferred upon M. Thiers; that his powers be prolonged for a period of three years; that he be entrusted with the promulgation and execution of the laws, and with the right to appoint Cabinet ministers and diplomatic, military, and naval functionaries; and that the members of his Cabinet be responsible for their acts to the Assembly. This proposition was met by a counter-motion from the Extreme Right, expressing confidence in the Chief of the Executive, and continuing his present powers. M. Thiers himself is reported to have demanded a vote on the urgency of the motions, which was declared amid great excitement, and to the discomfiture, as it seems, of the Right, which was inclined to stave off action in the matter. No further decision, however, has as yet taken place. On the other hand, the Right has carried the Indemnification Bill, which provides compensation for losses and damages sustained in the provinces during the war, against the strenuous opposition of M. Thiers, who favored only relief for needy sufferers; and the Decentralization Bill, which bestows considerable power on the departmental Councils-General, against the remonstrances of the Left, whose orators, and among them Louis Blanc, exerted themselves to show that decentralization, beginning with the departments instead of with the communes, was an aristocratic measure, calculated to throw the power into the hands of the wealthy. To such arguments the majority was the less inclined to listen as the result of the elections of July 30 in Paris, supplementary to the municipal election of the 23d of that month, has shown a decided reawakening of Commune propensities in the masses of the capital, disagreeably contrasting with the shocking apathy of the friends of order. The defiant tone of some of the Commune prisoners before the courts-martial must be equally provoking to the majority of the Assembly.

One of the first actions of the new Municipal Council of Paris, to which not only such Radicals as Clémenceau and Lockroy, but also members of the late Commune like Ranc and the notorious Mottu, have been elected among many others not particularly friendly to the *victrix causa*, was the sending of a deputation to Versailles to ask from M. Thiers the removal of the seat of Government to the metropolis. The answer of the Chief of the Executive was evasive, and by no means satisfactory. Nor is he likely to return to Paris as long as the German guns frown down upon it from the forts on the north and east. Their evacuation, however, will not be delayed much longer, though the report of an agreement concerning a speedy retirement of the army of occupation to near, or even beyond, the new frontier of France turns out to have been premature. M. Thiers is said to be in favor of large armaments, which, if true, may have some reference to contingencies which might possibly arise from the success or failure of the more than

simply amicable arrangements which not only the Emperors of Germany and Austro-Hungary, but also their advisers, are meeting at Gastein to establish. This meeting, the closely preceding one of the Emperor William with the Czar, and the intentions of Russia concerning affairs both in the East and West, are the themes of much speculation in the press, but speculation mostly of a very vague and idle character. Whether the dissolution, reported without comment, of the Vienna Reichsrath and the provincial diets of Cisleithan Austria, is the result of some final action decided upon by the Hohenwart Ministry, in matters and on grounds of internal policy, or whether it is to be brought into connection with the aims of the Imperial conference at Gastein, may also be considered a puzzling matter of conjecture.

As interesting as any of the European news is that which speaks of the difficulties of the Ultramontanes in Germany, and of the difficulties also which those gentlemen occasion the secular authorities by their violence of conduct and language. Their newspapers rail at a great rate, and should they do all they are promising, the prospect of troublous times for several European monarchies is extremely good. One of these papers, addressing "ye powerful of the earth"—Gladstone, Bismarck, Beust, Andrassy—tells them that "either they will restore to the church all its rights, or not one of the present governments will remain in existence." Another of them threatens kings with destruction, and tells them that though they may hold the thrones the Holy Father has the people, and that he will use them for the uprooting of his enemies. The patience of Catholics is exhausted, it says. The infallibilist bishops rain excommunications on the recalcitrant professors, and the infallibilist missionary priests, going into the parishes of their opponents, invite the parishioners to assault their pastors. Meantime comes from the letter-writers the curious story, which avers that the Pope is out of all conceit of his Jesuit advisers, and has it for one of his principal pleasures nowadays to remind them that he always told them how it would be; that they have brought him to a nice pass; that they would not let him be a Liberal, as he wished to be, and that the result is what they see—all which, says the letter-writer, dejects the Jesuit advisers very much, and correspondingly elates and rejoices the other advisers. But both sections are said to be equally and excessively disgusted by an alleged intention of the Holy Father to appoint his own successor by bull.

As for the Ultramontanes in Prussia, where they are, if anything, rather more violent than anywhere else, it almost appears as if Bismarck was preparing for an "inner Sadowa," or as we ought, perhaps, now to say, for an inner Sedan. He has, from his place of retirement, Varzin, thrown down the gauntlet to the extreme churchmen, who have assumed an almost disloyal attitude towards the Empire, and seems to be in no mood to withdraw his challenge. Not only has the Prussian Minister of Worship and Instruction, Dr. Von Mühler—formerly a most zealous protector of the Catholic interests—energetically baffled the assumptions of the Bishop of Ermeland, in East Prussia, who excommunicated and removed an anti-infallibilist teacher in his diocese, and of the Archbishop of Breslau, who suspended an anti-infallibilist priest in Upper Silesia—and everybody admits that Von Mühler has acted thus at the dictation of the rusticating Chancellor—but the Prussian Government has gone a step further, and abolished the separate ecclesiastical departments, Catholic and Evangelical, introduced thirty years ago in the Ministry of Worship and Instruction, and united them into one common department for "spiritual affairs." The liberal construction given to this change by the organs of the Chancellor, and the undivided approval with which it was received by the public at large, add to the bitterness which the measure in itself was so apt to engender in the irritated minds of the German Ultramontanes, and the tone of the religious and political controversies between them and their opponents—whether Protestants or Döllingerites—grows from day to day more excited.

## THE RECENT CHANGE IN THE INDIAN BUREAU.

A FEW days ago, Mr. Ely S. Parker, late Commissioner of Indian Affairs, retired from office. The letter announcing his resignation stated, in a tone of irritation and complaint, that the office had been reduced to a mere clerkship, and gave this fact as the reason for his throwing up the position. The President has appointed Mr. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, to fill the vacancy. The newspapers have scarcely noticed this occurrence, and yet in it we have the issue of a contest which has been waged at Washington since the inauguration of President Grant; in it we have a revolution in a most important branch of public affairs; in it we have, for the time at least, the complete overthrow of a most gigantic system of wrong, robbery, hypocrisy, greed, and cruelty, and the triumph of right, of official integrity, of administrative economy, and of the principles of a Christian civilization. That our readers may fully understand what has been accomplished by the persistent efforts of a few good men, impelled solely by considerations of public duty and welfare, and how they have at last put down an evil which was entrenched in all the high places at Washington, and which had its connections and supporters in all parts of the country, we propose to describe the operations of the Indian Bureau, and the changes made in it which led to the retirement of Mr. Commissioner Parker.

The Government might adopt one or the other of two alternatives in its treatment of the Indians. It might exterminate them rapidly and relentlessly; or it might seek to protect, to civilize, and to Christianize them. In theory, it has chosen the latter alternative. The practical administration of its Indian affairs, however, has rather been based upon the former, and has even been made the worse by the element of hypocrisy which the civilizing and Christianizing theory has necessarily introduced. The business of the Government growing out of its relations with the Indians is transacted through the Indian Office, a bureau of the Interior Department. Over this bureau is placed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who is practically responsible for the management of the office, although under the general supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. Amid the very numerous and very different duties of his department, the Secretary has of course neither the time nor the opportunity to interfere with the details of the Indian Office, and he is probably not informed as to what takes place therein, unless some important question is directly brought to his personal attention by appeal. Until the last year, the Territorial governors were superintendents of Indian affairs within their respective jurisdictions. Agents are also distributed among the various tribes, who come into personal contact with the Indians, and are the means of all ordinary communication between them and the Government. In accordance with the provisions of various treaties, and with a policy which has long prevailed, immense sums of money are appropriated each year by Congress for the support of the Indians. A portion of this money is to be paid directly to the tribes or to their chiefs, but the larger part is to be expended in the purchase, transportation, and distribution of supplies.

Here lies both the source of the corruption which has made the Indian Bureau a disgrace to the Government, and the opportunity for the "Indian Ring" which has long intercepted so large a part of the public bounty destined for the savages, and which has grown so strong by its powerful connections, both political and commercial, at the East and at the West, that its overthrow has seemed impossible. This Ring was politically strong, for it rendered important partisan services, and its members were to be found in both Houses of Congress. Much of the Indian appropriations was actually expended for purposes purely political. The Territorial governors, as Indian superintendents, were expected to use all their patronage, and all the appliances so well known to "men inside polities," to secure the control of each new-formed State as it emerged from a Territorial condition. These expenditures, however, were merely for the sake of preserving power; the greater part of the Indian appropriations kept up its steady flow, undisturbed by any obstacle or opposition, into the pockets of the fortunate members of the Ring. The methods by which the money was intercepted on its way to the Indians were as numerous as the ingenu-

ity of greed and dishonesty could invent. An army of contractors preyed upon the Bureau, and amassed vast fortunes by furnishing and transporting the most worthless supplies at the most exorbitant prices; others presented themselves beyond the confines of civilization and the reach of the law, at the time of annual payments to the tribes, and boldly demanded, and, by the connivance of agents, received, under the pretence of services rendered, a large percentage of the moneys as due to themselves; agencies were frequently sold to the highest bidder, who of course reimbursed himself with unlimited interest from the appropriations which passed through his hands. It is well known that most of the Indian wars have been caused by the violations of treaty obligations, these frauds for which the nation itself was held responsible; and the wars in turn reacted upon the "Ring," making it bolder and stronger; for war required more supplies, more transportation, more contracts, and more plunder. This is the system which a tempest of righteous popular indignation ought to have swept away, but which has required years of earnest labor from some of the best and ablest citizens of the country even to check.

President Grant seems to have been convinced that a reform in the administration of Indian affairs was necessary. Military man as he was, he favored a kindly and Christianlike treatment, rather than measures of repression and reprisal. Soon after his inauguration, he called upon the two Societies of Friends to nominate the superintendents for two of the many superintendencies, and to appoint and supervise the agents which were to be stationed in these districts. It is not probable that he was then familiar with the frauds and iniquities which had long been practised through the Indian Office, but his eyes were soon opened. A delegation of influential gentlemen from Philadelphia, including Mr. Eli K. Price, Mr. William Strong, now Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. William Welsh, and others, waited upon the President and the Secretary of the Interior, and revealed the whole truth. This committee was acting primarily in behalf of schemes for civilizing and Christianizing the Indians, but incidentally in the interests of an economical and honest administration. It succeeded in convincing the President and Secretary that Indian civilization was impossible without a reformation in the department through which the Government holds intercourse with the tribes. At the suggestion of these gentlemen, the President and Secretary promised to recommend the creation of a board of unpaid commissioners, who should have joint control with the Secretary of the Interior over appropriations for the benefit of the Indians. The recommendation was speedily and earnestly made. Congress responded to the suggestion, and passed the required statute; and the President appointed as such commissioners some of the ablest, purest, and best citizens of the country. This was the first blow which the Ring received, but though a staggering one, it was not fatal, and the monster soon recovered all its original vitality and vigor.

In the meantime, the President had appointed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and head of the Bureau General Ely S. Parker, who had been one of his military family, to whom he was warmly attached, and in whom he had the highest personal confidence. Mr. Parker is himself an Indian, hereditary chief of one of the Western New York tribes, and it was supposed that his sympathies would secure protection and justice for the whole race. He did not, however, co-operate with the advisory board. He thought, as he states in a published letter, that the power of supervision and joint control given to the board would produce confusion in his office. Through his influence with the President the law was virtually nullified, and, although it was soon apparent that the Ring was managing Mr. Parker as it had managed his predecessors, the advisory commissioners were unable to effect any important reforms in the management of the Bureau under the statute as it originally stood. Congress, therefore, at its next session, passed another statute so stringent in its terms that evasion seemed impossible. It directed and required the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to call upon the board of unpaid commissioners to aid in the purchase and inspection of goods, and to supervise all expenditures of money appropriated to the Indians. But even this peremptory command of the legislature was not enough. Mr. Parker nullified the statute by calling upon the board to aid in the purchase and inspection

of dry goods only, which form a very small part of the supplies procured by the Bureau. From the evidence afterwards laid before a committee of Congress, it appears that, in the face of the law, he made private contracts at exorbitant prices for stores, provisions, transportation, and the like, without conferring with the board. The system of evasion was carried to such an extent that one of the commissioners determined to test the efficiency of the law in the most formal manner. In December last, he presented a communication to the Secretary of the Interior, setting forth all the foregoing facts in detail. This letter and the charges therein were referred to a committee of Congress. After a long and careful investigation, the committee made a report during the past winter, fully sustaining all the facts alleged; they pronounced the commissioner incompetent and neglectful; they found that affairs in his Bureau were conducted in direct violation of express provisions of the law; they simply absolved him from any personal complicity with the fraudulent practices. On the footing of their report, the committee recommended a further measure as a thorough and complete remedy, which Congress at once enacted into a law. It provides that the signature of the executive committee of the board of commissioners shall be a prerequisite for the full payment of every draft upon the Treasury for money appropriated to the Indians. Mr. Parker placed a construction upon this statute which greatly limited its efficacy, and decided that its restrictions applied only to contracts which might be entered into by the Bureau, and that he was left free to disburse moneys through the agents and superintendents without the supervision of the board. A number of vouchers, similar in their character to those of the prior year, were actually paid by the Treasury under this ruling. An appeal was taken to the Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Delano overruled the Commissioner, and decided that all drafts upon the Treasury for moneys appropriated to the Indians must first pass under the supervision of the executive committee of the board. The resignation of Mr. Commissioner Parker followed immediately upon this decision of the Secretary; it was this act which had, as he complained, reduced his office to a mere clerkship.

What the board of unpaid commissioners have already accomplished in the way of economy may be learned from one or two examples which we take from numerous similar instances. During the past year, over \$179,000 were paid to one company under a private contract made by General Parker for the transportation of Indian goods up the Missouri River. This year, the contracts being let under the supervision of the board, the same transportation company has agreed to carry an equal weight of goods, over the same route and for the same distance, for a little more than \$20,000. A contractor who furnished cattle the past year at exorbitant rates, has made bids for the like supplies during the present year. The prices paid him last year were 133 per cent. greater than his bids for the present year, although cattle are higher in Texas now than then.

It is plain, from the foregoing facts, that a reform has been commenced and carried on in the face of a determined opposition, unprecedented in the history of the Government. The snake has been scotched, but we are afraid not yet killed. Already the Ring is moving. On Friday, August 11, the following item appeared in the Washington correspondence of most or all of the New York daily newspapers: "It is believed here, by persons who profess to know, that the new Indian Commissioner is so strongly in sympathy with the Indians that he will be very much embarrassed in dealing with them and, at the same time, complying with the provisions of the law, *which are not in accord with his broad views on the Indian question.*" This is mendacious to the last degree; it is a feeler sent out by the Ring. The laws, as we have seen, are favorable to the interests of the Indian; Mr. Brunot's influence was strongly exerted in favor of their enactment; they are in exact "accord" with his "broad views." It is not the laws, but the violation of the laws, to which he is opposed. The violators fear him, and will seek every means for his overthrow. But we have confidence in the result. Congress has done well; the President has done well; and it is cheering to the friends of Indian civilization, and of an honest and capable civil service, to learn that the Secretary of the Interior is anxious and urgent that Mr. Brunot should accept the most responsible position which the President has offered him. All that is now needed

is the support of an enlightened and determined public opinion. Let this be aroused, and the Ring is crushed.

#### OUR DUTY AS REGARDS CHINA.

THE doctrines of international law took their rise among the communities of Europe, and their application has, with a few exceptions, been confined to the Christian states of the European and the American continents. For a long time the Mohammedan countries of Southeastern Europe and of Northern Africa, although powerful in arms and possessing a considerable degree of civilization, were treated as not having the rights, and as not subjected to the duties, which the international code upholds and imposes. The change from this condition was gradual; and it was at a comparatively recent period that the great Ottoman empire was admitted to the freedom of the European powers. What has been true of the Mohammedan peoples has been true in a more marked manner still of the great heathen peoples of Asia. From their ignorance of the geography and of the politics of the world, and especially from the absence among them of those great principles of moral right and duty which underlie the whole system of modern international jurisprudence, it has been impossible to act towards them as equals, as independent, and as sovereign. In respect to them, the very postulate upon which the code of nations is built up, that all states are sovereign, independent, and equal, has failed. As they have admitted no equality, but have treated all other communities as outside barbarians; as they ignore, and perhaps cannot understand, the notion of an interstate faith, and of the obligations of solemn compacts; as they have endeavored to draw about themselves an impassable barrier, and thus to keep a large part of the earth closed to the needs and activities of civilization, it has been necessary to make approaches to them by force; to repress and punish at once, without any preliminary negotiation and with great severity, all breaches of good faith and all injuries to foreign private citizens; to demand and exact concessions of commercial freedom and of official intercourse with the bayonet and artillery, rather than by peaceful embassies. We do not now discuss the morality of this procedure, but only state the historical fact.

These means and measures have been used towards the two great empires of Eastern Asia, China and Japan. Two years ago, it was supposed by many in America, and perhaps by some in Europe, that China was entering upon a new course of international action. The embassy sent out under Mr. Burlingame was taken to be an announcement by the highest authority that this empire, beside which the states of Europe are the creatures of a day, possessing a civilization wonderful in its character, but hoary and decrepit with age, which had for centuries been taken as the type of formation and fixness, was about to commence a new development of energy and greatness under the guidance of the principles and practices which the modern international code inculcates and enforces. These expectations have failed. The hopes of Christendom—religious, political, and mercantile—have been disappointed; and the problem of the relations between the civilized world and China stands yet unsolved. Can it be that the rifle and the shell are the only solvents? In order to understand the exact conditions of this problem, and the nature of our relations with China, we must refer to the important provisions of existing treaties.

Prior to the year 1858, foreigners were rigorously confined to a few points upon the coast; intercourse with the natives, except in these small districts, was forbidden; official communications and negotiations were carried on through inferior officials, approach to the Emperor, and even to his higher ministers, being refused. There were a few occasions when these strict rules were waived or suspended, but they were temporary and exceptional, and did not change the general conduct and disposition of the Chinese Government. The great nations of Europe had long demanded that their representatives should reside at Peking, near the court of the Emperor, and be admitted to his presence, and that they should transact their affairs with his privy council or immediate ministers. This demand had been steadily rejected. In 1857, upon the occurrence of some local

outrage, Great Britain and France united their forces with an avowed and common design to bring the Chinese Government to terms. Their combined armies, after overcoming all opposition at the coast, penetrated the country until they reached Tien-tsin, ninety miles from Peking. The Russian minister and the American minister, Mr. Reed, accompanied this expedition, ready to obtain for their respective countries any advantage which might result from it, but taking no part as actors in the invasion. At Tien-tsin, the army was met by commissioners from the Emperor, who negotiated a treaty with each of the powers represented—Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States. That concluded with the United States is known as the Treaty of Tien-tsin, and was signed June 18, 1858. Article I. pledges the good offices and help of the United States in bringing about the amicable settlement of disputes between China and other nations. Articles IV.-X. relate to the official intercourse and communication between the representatives of the United States and the Chinese Government. This intercourse is ordinarily to be carried on with the local governors, but the American minister, upon matters of business, and not oftener than once in each year, may visit the capital, and there confer with members of the privy council. It is added, however, that if the representatives of other powers shall be permitted to reside at Peking, the American minister shall be entitled to the same privilege. United States consuls may be appointed for the ports which shall be opened to commerce. Articles XI.-XIII. promise protection to the persons and property of American citizens residing within the districts open to them. Article XIV. makes seven ports free to foreign commerce and residents. Their number was increased to eleven by subsequent treaties with other powers. Articles XV.-XXIII. prescribe minute regulations of commerce at these ports. Article XXIX. is so important in its spirit that we quote it in full: "The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have men do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any persons, whether citizens of the United States or Chinese converts, who, according to their tenets, shall peaceably teach and practise the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested." Finally: "If any other right, privilege, or favor, connected with either navigation, or commerce, or political or other intercourse, which is not given by this treaty, shall be given to any other nation, or to the citizens of any other nation, it shall immediately enure to the benefit of the United States and of American citizens." The treaties concluded at the same time, or soon thereafter, with Great Britain, France, and Russia opened four more ports to foreign trade and residence, declared the navigation of the Yang-tse-kiang free to all nations, permitted foreigners to travel through the country, and conceded the most important point, that representatives of the treaty powers might reside near the court at Peking. The United States, of course, took the benefit of all these additional stipulations. It should be remembered that these concessions—and we shall see that China has granted no others—were made in the face of a victorious army of invasion, after all resistance had been overcome, and when the capital of the Emperor lay at the mercy and within the grasp of the British and French forces. Not one of them was due to a desire for more intimate and friendly relations, nor to any feeling or movement in harmony with the civilization of Christendom.

In 1868, the embassy headed by Mr. Burlingame arrived in the United States. We need not recall to our readers the enthusiasm with which it was received, nor the glowing professions and predictions which were made in its behalf. The American people and the chief of the embassy seemed to have been carried away by a common excitement, at least in all of their public displays towards each other. Old China was now, under the auspices and guidance of the young Republic, about to renew its youth, to cast away the habits of thought and customs of centuries, and to us and to our peaceful policy was due the credit of this greatest political revolution of modern times. Such was the bright anticipation; but how meagre and empty the result! The convention of July 4, 1868, which was entitled "Additional articles to

the treaty of 1858," did not grant a single new concession, or privilege, or favor to the United States or to its citizens. Stripped of their unmeaning professions of good feeling, every clause recognized and protected and perpetuated the traditional policy of the Chinese Government. These eight additional articles affirm the Emperor's dominion over the districts opened to foreign residence, and his jurisdiction over persons and things therein; declare that all internal commerce, except as may have been expressly regulated by prior treaties, shall be subject to the discretion of the Imperial Government; permit Chinese consuls in American ports; provide that citizens of the United States in China, and Chinese subjects in America, shall have liberty of conscience, and shall not be persecuted; and place American citizens in respect to trade or residence upon the same footing as those of the most favored nation. Article V., in set terms, recognizes the right of man to change his home and allegiance, and acknowledges the advantages of free migration from one country to another for curiosity, trade, or permanent residence. After this appropriate preamble, we might have anticipated that additional and greater privileges of commercial or other intercourse were to have been conferred. But no such thing was contemplated. This is only the preface to a clause prohibiting compulsory emigration. Chinese subjects are to enjoy the same privileges in the public educational institutions under the control of the United States as are granted to the subjects of the most favored nation. The same favor is given to American citizens in China. There is something exquisitely ludicrous about this stipulation. We suppose it must refer to our West Point and Annapolis military and naval schools, but to what Chinese seminaries it can refer we are ignorant. Finally, the United States disclaims all right and intention of interfering with the domestic affairs of China; but should the Emperor determine to establish a system of railways and other internal improvements, and apply for engineers to aid in their construction, the United States promises to furnish them. Mr. Burlingame and his fellow-commissioners were received very quietly, and perhaps coldly, in England. Our newspapers, oddly enough, said it was because the people and government were deeply chagrined at the triumph of American diplomacy. In due time, similar treaties were concluded with Great Britain and some others of the European powers. If these conventions have any meaning at all, and are not mere idle words, their implied effect is to bind the great contracting powers to treat with China diplomatically in the same manner in which all other states acknowledging the international law are treated—in other words, that there shall be no show of force, and *à fortiori* no resort to force, for the punishment of local outrages until negotiations with the central government have been tried and exhausted, and then force must mean and be open, acknowledged war. We say this result is implied from the fact of the treaties themselves; it is nowhere expressly set forth, nor is there a positive stipulation creating any additional right or privilege.

In the meantime, during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869, local outrages upon foreigners were becoming more frequent and serious. They soon took the shape of a combined and widely-extended assault upon Christianity, upon native converts, and especially upon the missionaries. Charges of the most terrible character against the religious teachers were put forth in an official form, and widely circulated. A book, purporting to be an exposure of Christianity, and filled with the most revolting falsehoods, was issued, evidently under the sanction of high authority, and sent out by thousands to inflame the ignorant zeal of the common people. We may remark, in passing, that the Chinese seem to be familiar with the trick, not unknown in some Western countries, of manufacturing a desired public opinion by the free use of governmental appliances, and then of appearing to be driven into a certain line of policy by the overwhelming force of this same public opinion. The movement which we have thus briefly described at length culminated in the massacre of Tien-tsin, which was openly abetted and promoted by the local officials, and at which all Christendom stood aghast. The immediate sufferers were principally under French protection, but all the resident foreign ministers at Peking supported the demands of the French representative for redress. The Chinese Government prevaricated and delayed, but at last sentenced a few of the subordinate local officers to death, leaving those of high and

responsible rank unpunished, and promised to pay a sum of money as indemnity. Recent intelligence shows that affairs are fast approaching a crisis. The Imperial Government not only refuses to pay the promised indemnity, but has made a formal demand upon the foreign ambassadors "that schools for the education of females be abolished; that the teaching to male subjects of the empire of all doctrines opposed to those of Confucius be forbidden; that missionaries shall be considered Chinese subjects; and that women shall not be permitted access to the empire in that capacity."

The action is a carefully planned violation of a most important article of the Treaty of 1858, an article expressly reaffirmed in 1868. Coming as a sequel of the Tien-tsin massacre, it is a studied insult not only to France, but to all the great treaty powers. What is the duty of our own Government under these circumstances? The United States cannot in general be engaged in religious propagandism; but as we have twice stipulated for the toleration of Christianity and the protection of Christian teachers and converts, we are estopped from denying the propriety of a further protection. There are, however, reasons of state policy why the Government should act in a quick, decided, and peremptory manner. The repudiated stipulation is the key of the whole position. Its rejection is a return to the old system of absolute exclusion in all things; this is the first step, an experiment, perhaps, and, if successful, the others will surely and speedily follow. If we yield upon this point, the whole fabric of treaties, raised with so much labor, and at the cost of not a little blood, will fall like a house of cards. We do not urge action simply in the interests of religious missions; we urge it in the interests of commerce and of civilization. There should be no weak hesitation in the use of force. The events of the past twelve years prove beyond a doubt that diplomatic negotiation will accomplish nothing. Neither America nor Europe can again be amused or deceived by another Burlingame embassy. The United States and the other great powers should unite in a demand, accompanied by a sufficient display of force, that the Chinese Government shall recede from its present position, shall reaffirm the violated treaties, and shall give ample reparation for past and security against future outrages. Unless this demand is complied with at once, China must be taught, in such a manner that the lesson cannot be forgotten, the advantages of preserving international faith.

#### SCOTT'S BIRTHDAY.

SCOTT is now somewhat faded, it is common to say; and undeniably it is true to say so. We may even concede that, had he been an Englishman or an American, had he been the glory of any people less fervid in patriotism than the people whose country was his and which he loved so well, we should not now be celebrating his anniversary. It was, of course, inevitable that such fame as his should fade. But it is as inevitable that no fading will ever deprive it wholly of its brightness, and that there will always be honor for this new creator of the art of story-telling, and affectionate esteem for this most manly of men. Unless we feel too much of it, we of to-day can hardly feel at all our fathers' delighted and wondering admiration for this extraordinary genius. They had been reading dull romances, and he gave them, month after month, from his inexhaustible brain, stories which still, after we have listened to the countless multitude of the story-tellers whom he called into being, are a delight to old and young. They were absorbed in fierce discussions of fundamental problems of politics and of society itself, and he called them away and showed them, truly or falsely—truly and falsely, we may say—the beauty there was in the past which he so sincerely revered. And besides peopling the past for them with that wonderful throng of men and women—queens, kings, captains, knights, churls and barons, priests, outlaws and statesmen, wizards, ghosts, lovers—besides vivifying history for them, he educated their tastes also, and gave them higher views and a keener enjoyment both of nature and of art. It was of him they learned not only how to "view fair Melrose aright," that mediæval art was not a thing of horror, but the loveliness and the sublimity of mountain, lake, forest, river, and sky. He himself had sat at the feet of others perhaps greater than he, and had learned of them; possibly, his Highland nurses and their old-world songs and tales might not have awaked and fed to full strength the Gothic genius within him, had not Goethe already told the story of "Goetz of the Iron Hand," and the youthful Schiller embodied in Charles Moor

some of the storm and stress of the time; but wherever he learned it, it was he who brought to our fathers the message, and it is little wonder that they accorded him a reverence which to us already seems, if right for them to give, yet more than we ourselves can yield.

But it may be doubted if our children will not be paying him as much homage as we, and if nearly all of him that was perishable has not already fallen away, leaving him to stand as now for generations yet to come. The first poet of his time he will never be again. There may be, as there have been, disputes as to whether the divine gift was really his at all, and if his "thumping metrical romances" merit the title of poems; but the boys, and the men, too, of 1971 will have better fortune than can well be hoped for them if, when next the great Scotchman's birthday is commemorated, they have found poetry more spirited, gallant, inspiriting, pictorial, honest, and human than they may read where Lord Marmion beards the Douglas, and rides across the quivering drawbridge; or King James joins battle with Surrey; or Roderic's men start from the heather, and vanish again at the black chieftain's signal; or day sets "on Norham's castled steep and Tweed's fair river"; or the stag makes his midnight lair in lone Benvoirlich; or the luckless page sings the boding song to her betrayer as they ride towards Flodden Field. We may venture to predict that to love this poetry will still, a hundred years from now, be an education in manliness as surely and truly as to love the Lady Elizabeth Howards of that day will be a liberal education.

And so, also, of the novels. There will, doubtless, be many a story-teller to help the many there have already been to draw away a portion of the public over which Scott once reigned sole sovereign. The Thackerares, Dickens, Eliots, Hawthornes, and Reades of the future, each magician in turn as he exercises his spell and moves forward to his appointed and permanent place in literature, must of necessity draw away to himself some portion of the crowd which belongs to the moment, and belongs to him, as to Scott in his day and to every other, only as he himself belongs to the moment. Of more consequence than this, the critic and student will come, as they have come, and show how shallow was the philosophy of history and how insufficient was the historical knowledge, and how strong the prejudice, behind that wonderful painted stream of mediæval life; what gloom where the dazzled eye of the poet saw fictitious brightness; what necessary and beneficent forces where the poet could perceive only a headlong and devastating stream of disorderly movement miscalled progress; what selfishness and cruelty where the lover of aristocracy would discover chivalry and gallantry alone; what sublimity of devotion and firmness and enlightenment of conviction where fierce and blinded fanaticism was all that Scott could find. Further, they will show us the Romanist and the reactionist expressing their gratitude, and the Protestant and republican their grief, that the greatest literary influence of the time was cast on the side of the Roman Church and was adverse to the Reformation; John Henry Newman and George Borrow alike counting him as an effective preacher of Romish doctrine, and Charles, Saint and Martyr, getting profusely the veneration denied or but scantily accorded to Cromwell and Knox.

All this is doubtless true, and perhaps to be regretted; though if there is one thing in the world that we may probably be safe in remitting to the exclusive charge of Providence, it is past history. The doctrine that whatever was is right, may no doubt be affirmed without dread, and with no limitations. But be that as it may, after they have made the necessary deductions from Scott's claim, where will it be that our posterity, in the last quarter of the coming century, will have found their better story-teller? Will it be some one whom we have with us now, or have had with us, who will be thought to have beaten the "Antiquary"? Will "Vanity Fair," or "Pickwick," or "Adam Bede" be more read than "Ivanhoe" and "The Heart of Mid-Lothian," and the "Bride of Lammermoor" and "Waverley" and "Old Mortality"? Will our grandchildren know Clive Newcome, and Becky Sharp, and Henry Esmond, and Mr. Pickwick, and Mr. Squeers better, and be the better for knowing them better, than they will know Dugald Dalgetty and Dirck Hatterick and Dominie Sampson and Jeanie Deans and Meg Merrilies and Edie Ochiltree and Monk barns and Rob Roy? Or will it be some novelist of their own? So far as we of to-day can judge, whatever they find in Scott's successors, as known to us, great as several of them have been, they will not find a work or a set of works which can ever balance that wonderful series of volumes which have held the last three generations captive; they will not find what will supersede that wonderful series of "Scotch novels." That is their appropriate name, no doubt; for though Rebecca and Rowena and Count Robert and King Louis and Charles and Richard and Saladin and Leicester and poor Amy Robsart and Elizabeth

are immortal in his pages, and though we watch with him the combat beside the Syrian fountain, or thread the streets of Paris, or climb mountain-passes of Switzerland, or wander with Wayland Smith through English lanes, or take water with Raleigh on the Thames; nevertheless, of all the wide lands which we visit with him, and of all the men and women that people them, it is in Scotland and among his own countrymen and countrywomen that he is immeasurably best. Not only physically, but in all ways, he was strongest when on the heather; and it can hardly be but that the distinctively Scotch novels, from the deep tragedy of the "Bride of Lammermoor" and "St. Ronan's Well" to the racy comedy of "The Antiquary," will suffice to give him permanence so long as the main thing in a novel is truthful delineation of widely interesting characters and captivating story. The humor, the strong sense, wide observation, the perfect sincerity and kindness of heart, the almost universal tolerance and justice, the comprehensive sympathy, the hearty relish of the wholesome good of life—these qualities as shown in these books make it as certain as it is fortunate that they have in store for them a long immortality.

It is, indeed, upon Scott's goodness as a man that a great part of the esteem in which he will be held as a poet and as a novelist will be based. Few men placed in a position of pre-eminence like his have ever escaped with less of blame; and of such blame as he has had to bear with, the world is now disposed to withdraw much. We smile a little at the exaggerated loyalty which bent him to his knees before the Prince Regent; we are sorry to smile when we hear of his reluctance that a baronet should be known to have written "Waverley"; and we are sad when we think of Abbotsford, with its Gothic mansion, its piper and the pibroch, the baronial state and the lavish hospitality which brought the great genius in his age to a poverty not too honorable, and brought him, too, the fatal opportunity for that splendid exercise of courage and determination which broke his mind and body and ended his life. But we are all now beginning to remember the merciful saying, or rather the just saying, that every man has the faults of his virtues, and that the Scott who built Abbotsford for himself and others is the Scott who built for us the fabric of mediæval society. He had his piper to play before him at dinner; but what should we know of the wild Highlands had not the poet loved them and their ways, not only wisely and well, but too well also, and not with perfect wisdom?

## Correspondence.

### THE PRESIDENT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Although I was much gratified with the conclusive article in last week's *Nation* on the Constitutionality of Civil Service Reform, I wish another phase of it might be presented.

When I first noticed that the Commission had adjourned because of the suggested difficulty in the Constitution, I couldn't help wishing we knew who were those sincere friends of the reform in Congress who found the obstacle really serious. It really looked as if the Commission had been imposed upon. It is not only true, as the *Nation* has so well shown, that Congress has both had and exercised control over the question of tests of qualification for public service, and might repeal all laws giving to heads of departments the appointing power, and leave all appointments for the President, subject to the confirmation of the Senate; but it seems to me singular that any one could overlook the fact that under an administrative system the President has, by his absolute power of removal of his cabinet officers, the most complete control of the system on which they shall make their appointments.

Take Gen. Pleasonton's case. It does not matter whether we agree with him or not in his views of the internal revenue law he was administering; we must still admit that the Administration has a right to have its policy carried out, and ought to bear the responsibility for it, and to be free from any liability to be thwarted and have all its calculations on the budget marred by the action of a subordinate. It is not at all to the purpose to say that the law authorizes the Commissioner to decide certain things, or the Secretary to decide certain things: both, as Executive officers, represent and speak for the President, and, when they cease to carry out his views, they should resign. I know of no other way to have proper Executive responsibility, and even the exigencies of a revolutionary era cannot remove the blame from Mr. Stanton for "sticking" contrary to the wish of the President, nor from

Congress for having tried to make Mr. Rollins independent of Mr. McCulloch.

It follows that the President is and must be to the fullest extent responsible for the civil service reform in all the departments. He has it in his power to carry out the reform by a simple Executive order, and, if he fails to do so, he, personally and officially, must bear the whole and sole responsibility for the failure to do so. It is nonsense to look for examples. The bound volumes of opinions of the Attorney-Generals are full of the recognition of the fact that the heads of departments are each an *alter ego* for the President in all official acts, and whilst they may not violate their own sense of right and duty in obedience to his wishes, their remedy is not by opposition to him, but by resignation, upon a public avowal of the cause of resigning, leaving him to settle accounts with the people who elected him, and with Congress and the courts, his co-ordinates in the constitutional system.

Everything claimed by the civil service reformers is clearly within the Executive power, for the period of the Executive term of office. Legislation is only needed to prevent what one Executive may do from being undone by the next, and not at all to give authority to the President to determine the mode in which all the employees of the departments shall be selected or removed. It is a real misfortune if the Commissioners have been befooled by the pretence of unconstitutionality, for it would show how easy is the process the *Nation* has so often exposed of finding objections to "this particular method" of reform.

L. S.

AUGUST 11, 1871.

## Notes.

MESSRS. J. R. OSGOOD & Co.'s list of fall publications is long and varied, but consists in great part of new editions of works already before the public, and of books made up from articles that have appeared in the *Atlantic*. The two set down for this month are Miss Harriet Prescott Spofford's "New England Legends," comprising popular accounts of Captain Kidd, the Salem witchcraft, etc., and Mr. R. Shelton Mackenzie's "Life of Scott," referred to last week. The most noticeable among the works that are to follow are: a new edition of the late George Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature," in three volumes, from a revised copy left by the author at his death; "The Wood Scenery of New England;" Clarence King's "Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada;" "Bits of Travel," by Mrs. Helen Hunt ("H. H."); a "Dictionary of American Biography," by F. S. Drake; "Parnassus," and a new volume of Essays, by R. W. Emerson. The first work in preparation by the subscription department of this house is "Home Worship," by the Rev. Dr. Thompson, of this city.—Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons will publish immediately Mrs. Ames's long-deferred story of "Eirene; or, A Woman's Right;" "A History of England," by B. J. Lossing; "Stimulants and Narcotics," and "Eating and Drinking," two volumes of their handy volume series, prepared by Dr. G. M. Beard; "The Crayon Reader," being selections from the writings of Irving, arranged for schools and classes; and the first two volumes of the new Knickerbocker edition of standard poets, comprising the poems of Campbell, Collins, Gray, and Goldsmith.—Messrs. F. B. Felt & Co. will republish Robert Buchanan's "Land of Lorne."—Mr. E. A. Pollard, the biographer of the "Lost Cause," has in the press a new work entitled the "Lost Curse," in which he includes (and few will gainsay him) Mr. Jefferson Davis and the institution of slavery. He is convinced that "loss is the necessary occasion of compensation, thus, in fact, a form of gain," in the light of which philosophy, he says, "a candid man could not remain long disconsolate in his estimate of the late war."—Messrs. Appleton's announcements for August include new editions of their well-known "Hand-Book of American Travel," Northern and Eastern, and Western Tour; "Light Science for Leisure Hours," by R. A. Proctor; "Recent Discussions in Science, Philosophy, and Morals," by Herbert Spencer; and the following novels: Disraeli's "Tancred;" G. J. Whyte-Melville's "Sarcophagus;" and "My Heroine."

—Of all the good people who take it to heart that Americans cannot sustain a comic paper, the Americans themselves are, we suspect, the least troubled. After all, the illustrations are the accident of such a paper, not the substance; and the humor we know we have, and can get, in plenty—small matter if it blossoms in papers not professedly humorous, and is diffused among a thousand, more or less, instead of concentrated in one. There is, too—if we may venture to add something to the already trite discussion—the same repugnance among us to the anony-

mous in comic as in serious journalism; and the highest success, therefore, awaits the acknowledged humorist, whose *nom de plume* is not long allowed to stand between him and the public. The individual exploits of sharpshooters have more interest for us than the operations of a corps of regulars delivering their weekly volleys from behind breastworks. Among our *francs-tireurs*, two only exhibit, in any high degree, the pictorial humor, and these are Mr. Bellew and Mr. Nast; and, so long as the latter appears regularly in *Harper's Weekly*, the American public has, we believe, all the comic paper that it wants. There is, to be sure, in this artist an earnestness of purpose and depth of feeling which often prove incompatible with comic effects, as those will agree who recall his caricatures of President Johnson. He is too much bent on painting things as they really are to be always mindful that his function as a humorist is to point out differences in things like. In his dealings with the Ring, however, we remember few instances in which this criticism is applicable to Mr. Nast, and certainly his two cartoons in the last *Harper's* (Aug. 19) are humorous beyond cavil. Mr. Greeley, in one of them, is represented as having asked Mr. Ingersoll (of Ingersoll & Co., of Court-house disbursements notoriety) who his "Co." is, and Mr. Ingersoll thereupon introduces him to a host of persons, led off by Mr. Tweed, behind whose capacious and elephantine body the other members of the Ring and their dependents make shift to hide themselves. In the second cartoon we have the Tammany Ring facing outwards, and answering the question of the *Times*, "Who stole the people's money?" with "Twas him!"—each one with thumb or forefinger designating his neighbor; Mayor Hall pointing to the Comptroller, and Mr. Connolly to Mr. Sweeny, and Mr. Sweeny to his friend with the Kohinoor, Mr. Tweed, who, with a vigorous thrust of his fat index-finger, betrays the innocent chair-maker for the armories, and he, in turn, the underpaid plasterer of the new Court-house, and so round till the Old Board denounces the New Board, and the New Board points straight, with a smirk, at Mayor Hall. It is a deep-rooted villainy that cannot be shaken by this sort of laughter.

—New editions rather than new works fill the English publishers' lists at this season. The place of the "Dame Europa" literature has been supplied by the "Battle of Dorking" (now attributed to Sir Francis Head) and its tribe, which hardly promises, however, to be as numerous as the first. Since our last summary, the following appear to be the principal publications worth examining: Austen Leigh's "Life of Jane Austen," enlarged edition, with fragments of unfinished tales; W. Skeen's "Adam's Peak," and "Mountain Life and Coffee Cultivation in Ceylon"; "Eastern Sketches, Notes of Scenery, Schools, and Tent Life in Syria and Palestine," by Ellen Clare Miller; "Scenes in the Sunny South, including the Atlas Mountains and the Oases of the Sahara in Algeria," 2 vols., by Lieut.-Col. C. S. Vereker; "Canoe Travelling: Log of a Cruise on the Baltic, and Practical Hints on Building and Fitting Canoes," by Warington Baden Powell, who might easily be a more attractive writer than his predecessor in the same waters, Mr. Macgregor—hitherto the monopolist in this branch of literature; and W. S. Banks's "Walks in Yorkshire: Wakefield and its Neighborhood." Relating to the Franco-Prussian war, we have: a reprint from the *Contemporary Review* of Mazzini's weighty and sensible words on "The War and the Commune," and "Our Adventures during the war of 1870" by Emma Maria Pearson and Louise Elizabeth MacLaughlin. The Rev. Malcolm MacColl's "Ober-Ammergau Passion-Play" has reached a fourth edition, the appendix containing a continuous description of the scenes and tableaux of the play in the order in which they take place; and those who desire an exact libretto may find it in "The English Words of the Passion-Play," by Mrs. Edward Childe. Dr. Ginsburg's "Moabite Stone" has reached a second edition, and "The Rosetta Stone in Hieroglyphics and Greek," with a translation, by S. Sharpe, is now accessible to Oriental students. Dr. Solomon Deutsch's scholarly "Key to the Pentateuch, Explanatory of the Text and Grammatical Forms," is offset by H. Shepheard's fantastical "Traditions of Eden; or, Proofs of the Historical Truth of the Pentateuch, from Existing Facts and from the Customs and Monuments of all Nations." We notice one technical work on a subject that concerns good architecture: "Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages," by R. & J. Brandon. Three announcements are of interest: "Modern Belgian Art," by W. B. Scott, fully illustrated with photographs, which may go on the shelf beside Hamerton's essays on modern French art; Christina Rossetti's "Sing-Song: A Nursery-Rhyme Book," with numerous illustrations from the apt pencil of Arthur Hughes; and "Human Longevity, its Facts and its Fictions," by W. J. Thoms, editor of *Notes and Queries*, who has doubts whether anybody ever lived to be a hundred.

—The present would seem to be a good time for taking up and settling, or putting in the way to be settled, by an international congress, the whole question of the metric system—for coins, weights, and measures. In point of urgency, the monetary unification stands first; and what makes agitation for it now opportune is the fact that within a few weeks the German Reichsrath must undertake such a unification for the new empire, obliterating the seven existing systems. It is not too much to ask that the leadership which Germany has now won among civilized nations should be used to adjust the standard of coinage once for all. That it will be decimal, no one doubts; that it will be the present French system, of which, with some modifications as to fineness, Dr. Wiebezahl, of Cologne, is the principal advocate, is far from certain. Most in favor is the "Teutonic" system, supported among others by the *Deutsche Handelszeitung*, which makes a gramme of gold the unit of coinage, and assigns to all gold coins an integral number of grammes. On this plan, 3 thalers would equal 2 dollars gold; 6 thalers, 1 Russian half-imperial; 7.3 thalers, 1 pound sterling; 29 thalers, 100 francs. Little can be accomplished for international agreement until England is willing to surrender its complex currency. The adhesion of the United States to any rational and universal scheme may surely be counted on. There are, we know, objections to be raised on the score of expense in recoining, of debasement, of future decline in the value of the precious metals, etc., etc. None of them seem to us so serious as those which confront the adoption of the metric system for weights and measures, which has, nevertheless, been made compulsory in most European countries, and is tolerated by law in Great Britain and the United States. In a thin House, the other day, it was debated whether to make the system compulsory in England, and, though the Government opposed the reform, the majority against it was but five. It appeared in the discussion that there were ten systems of weights and measures in use in the kingdom, and the need of unity was not disputed. The old philological arguments against the metric, or any totally new, system were rehearsed, but we doubt if they are going to be effective much longer. The time-honored familiar names will linger long after the thing indicated has been superseded, just as the nomenclature in vogue before them survived their adoption. The change will be gradual, not sudden and shocking. Our decimal coinage has been contesting the memory of the shilling for nigh a quarter of a century, and has not driven the use of it yet out of our daily reckoning—neither the New England shilling nor the York shilling. It would be interesting to learn how completely the metric system prevails in France, and how long it was in driving out the old names as well as the old measures. The word "lieue" seems to be as tenacious of life as our "league."

—Between a mob which holds a city for three days and one that holds it for seventy, there is only a difference of degree; but in the latter case, the sober and law-abiding citizens are liable to much severer censure than in the former. The Commune was a mob of this kind; and the good people of Paris who endured it from the 18th of March to the 27th of May have been set down without distinction as imbeciles and madmen, as if accomplices of the organized anarchy. Their apology has just been written by Emile Beaussire in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of July 1, of which he is one of the editors, and in this capacity was actually imprisoned by the Commune. He begins with remarking that the unjust stigma which rests upon his clients—"la majorité saine de la population de Paris"—partly proceeds from the French, and even from the Parisians themselves. "In France we are unmeasured in the evil as well as in the good that we speak of ourselves. We dislike any but general propositions and simple explanations. Our logic demands them; and whether they call us to partake of a universal glory, or involve us in universal infamy, our vanity is equally satisfied." For the full and succinct story of the firmness, loyalty, and civic courage of the friends of order, when abandoned by the government and the military authorities, we must refer our readers to the *Revue*. Among the classes whose devotion is signalized were the students, who for once resisted their revolutionary traditions; the concierges and domestic servants left in charge of deserted houses, who guarded them from pilage and incendiarism, and withstood all the temptation to join the movement of the class to which their station most nearly allied them; and, finally and especially, the under-officials in the public service. These last had the most delicate of positions, since they had to satisfy their new without betraying their trust to their lawful chiefs, who, indeed, held a secret and perilous communication with them from Versailles. "I yield," says M. Beaussire, "to a feeling of personal gratitude in making special mention, among these modest and courageous employees, of those of the pris-

ons. They were full of consideration for the respectable inmates (and there were few others). With a delicate attention, they selected those to walk together whom they guessed by education and tastes to have a certain affinity for each other. 'We were here before the Commune,' they used to say in an undertone, not without a certain pride."

—The attitude of the press throughout all this nightmare of government is praised, as it well merits, by M. Beaussire; and there is perhaps no higher example of moral courage than the journal that speaks its mind under mob rule, without fear of the mob. On this point, the record of the Paris press is honorable in the extreme, particularly as "almost all the journalists who were imprisoned or threatened with imprisonment, and the only one put to death, belonged to the Republican party." The Commune was very capricious in its suppression of newspapers, though the fact just stated "shows from what quarter criticism was most distasteful to it." The *Journal des Débats* was one of the first to be suppressed, and the *Revue*, which had fully recovered its poise after the Germans were out of sight, would quickly have shared the same fate, but that the Commune feared its effect upon public opinion abroad. One of its editors was arrested, his papers seized, the keys of his desk carried off, and he himself kept in durance, "in view of the next number." The next number, however, did not seem to the Commune to have profited from the "warning"—"la *Revue* ne changea rien au ton à la fois mesuré et ferme de ses appréciations." Then, on the 19th of May, the decree suppressing it was issued; but, in order to mask the incident as much as possible, nine other journals were made the companions of the *Revue* in punishment. In the fortnight that was necessary to give effect to this decree in the case of the *Revue*, the Commune was overpowered. The journals allowed to live took pains to show by their frankness that they accepted no favors of the Commune; and often, when suppressed, they reappeared the next day with merely a change of title. One newspaper had the distinguished honor of four successive suppressions under as many separate titles, and would have defied extinction if this expedient had not finally been threatened with a court-martial.

—Before leaving the subject of the *Revue*, we may express the hope that all who read the number from which we have been quoting will not omit the notice to subscribers printed under the table of contents. It is a modest appeal for support in an undertaking always difficult, and which has the distinction of being unique in journalism, and, apparently, inimitable by the literary genius of any other country than France. It serves for that country—not perfectly, we are well aware—the purposes of the English weeklies, the *Spectator* and the *Saturday Review*, while its range is more extended, and its political reviews more able and impartial, fitting it in all respects to be what it is—the favorite reading of cultivated men in all quarters of the globe. To increase its circulation is to aid the cause of sound scholarship, pure literature, and healthy politics; and its claims at this time on all who have these objects at heart are greater than ever before. Not only in gratitude for its independence under the Commune, but that it may succeed in its endeavor to regenerate its country—"by attacking the moral evil at its source, by recalling the public to its senses, by exposing every species of folly"—every well-educated American should feel it incumbent on him to sustain the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Its agent in this city is Mr. F. W. Christern.

#### KAPP'S FREDERIC THE GREAT.\*

THE main part of Mr. Kapp's last work, with which he purposed to conclude his career as a writer on American history, is strictly historical, and in no respect inferior to his former writings, while the appendix has a strong political coloring which is not likely to win the good graces of many American critics. Although the works which have been written on Frederic the Great constitute quite a respectable library, yet his relations to the United States had hitherto failed to enlist the attention of the historians, some superficial and erroneous ideas being transmitted from one generation of writers to another, until they had come to be received on both sides of the Atlantic as historical facts, whereas they were but a collection of worthless anecdotes. Mr. Kapp has filled this void in our knowledge of Prussia's greatest monarch, and he has performed his work with his wonted thoroughness and the unbiased mind of the true historian, whose duty it is not "to fix up" heroes, but to tell facts.

Frederic and a tincture, however slight, of the strong but vague

\* "Friedrich der Grosse und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Mit einem Anhang: Die Vereinigten Staaten und das Seekriegsrecht. Von Friedrich Kapp." Leipzig, 1871.

enthusiasm of a Lafayette for liberty, and especially for liberty with a flavor of the spirit of the *contrat social*, is one of the oddest combinations imaginable. Mr. Kapp will be called to account by the sentimentalists among the historians for having proved beyond contradiction that this combination existed only in the imagination of Frederic's contemporaries. The Americans attributed to him the feelings which were burning in their own bosoms simply because he happened to be of some service to them, and accidentally at the very moment when success in their struggle for independence seemed all but impossible. Liberty never was a factor in his calculations, although he was too much of a really great man to play the policeman and detective on the throne, and the first and principal article in his catechism of "the rights of man" was the duty of the people obediently and diligently to pursue the way to happiness which it was the function of princes to mark out and prepare for them. What he wanted was purely and simply to vent his anger against England, and, when policy did not allow him to do that, he immediately turned his back upon the United States. His anger that the greediness of the petty princes had turned Germany into a market where England could buy as much human stock as she liked was by no means affectation; but it did not arise from his regard for the *natural and inalienable* rights of those who were sold, or from the fact that they were destined to fight against the *natural and inalienable* rights of the Americans. He was not more scrupulous than England in filling the ranks of his army, and he made it fight for whatever was to the advantage of Prussia, troubling his mind very little about the delicate question whether he thereby violated the rights of other people or not. But he regarded Germany as his domain, which he was anxious not to have drained of her supply of able-bodied men by England, partly because thereby was revealed the contemptible position which the German empire at that time occupied, and partly because he had himself to draw upon the rest of Germany to keep up the large army upon which the maintenance of his newly-acquired position depended.

While Washington was passing that terrible winter at Valley Forge, Howe was, in a certain degree, paralyzed by the unexpected news that Frederic had forbidden the transportation of the hapless "Hessians" through his dominions, thus rendering the future supply of troops from Germany wholly precarious. "This it is which makes Frederic's policy of importance for the American war. In its consequences it was as much to Washington as a new ally; it gave him time, and helped to turn the fortune of the war" (p. 71). Frederic, however, was not induced to assume this policy because it helped the United States, but exclusively because it served his own purposes. When, therefore, the Bavarian question rendered it desirable for him to be on good terms with England, he not only unhesitatingly pulled down the barriers which he had erected in her way, but at once dropped all negotiations with the Americans. In a word, there is not a moment during the whole war when Frederic ceased to be the shrewd, cool, calculating statesman, with a decidedly despotic turn of mind, bent with the whole force of his iron will upon absolutely nothing but what he considered the welfare of his own country, anxious to secure commercial advantages for it, but unwilling to risk anything. The idea that the Americans should think of his risking anything for the sake of their cause never entered his mind, for he could not but regard that as utterly absurd. The negotiations were, therefore, of necessity, completely fruitless, all the more because the position of the Americans was precisely that of the king, in that they also wanted to get everything and give nothing but all kinds of promises for the future. These are the conclusions to which Mr. Kapp comes, and they are so well supported by ample quotations, from mostly heretofore unknown historical documents, that the question may be considered as settled for ever. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Kapp goes so far in his disregard of the feelings of the sentimentalists—a disregard which, by the way, has received a well-deserved and severe rebuke from several of the German newspapers in the United States—that he bluntly states that the sword which Frederic is said to have sent to Washington was probably presented to Washington by a Mr. Theophilus Alte, in Solingen, but, at all events, not by Frederic.

The second part of the book, in which both parties—Frederic as well as the United States—appear on the whole to great advantage, is devoted to the treaty of amity and commerce of September 10, 1785. This treaty will always be considered as a prominent milestone in the progress of humanity from a state of barbarism to a state of true civilization, for the reason that in it are realized the best part of the instructions of Congress of May 7, 1784, to Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson—ideas of which Mr. Kapp justly says: "They stand like beacons of a better future, and assign to the United States, in the very beginning of their history, a proud position

among the maritime powers. They are the great principles which proclaim the *freedom of the sea*; and up to the present day they have fought for them vigorously and with energy. It is the doctrine—which since the peace of Paris, in 1856, has become the common good of all nations—of the rights of neutrals, of the freedom of property on neutral ships, of the nature of contraband, and of the requirements of a valid blockade." The history of this treaty, therefore, well deserves to be written with great fulness; and the student who is willing to follow Mr. Kapp through all the changes which it had to undergo before it reached its final shape, and all the difficulties which had to be overcome, will not regret the time spent on it. It is the principal merit of the United States to have urged and initiated the great reforms, and the merit of Frederic to have become convinced that they were reforms, and to have adopted them in consequence. In some respects, however, Frederic was desirous of going even further than the United States. Thus, for instance, he wished to see it stipulated "that the effects and goods of either of the contracting parties which might be found on board a hostile ship, should be subject to confiscation only in case they were contraband or destined for the war, but should be returned to the proprietor, or taken at a reasonable fixed price, if they were the property of the subject of a neutral power." Congress, however, declined to accept this. Neither of the contracting parties had a navy, and their commercial relations were very insignificant. The treaty, therefore, proved to be of almost no immediate practical value. Its importance was wholly confined to the principles which were embodied in it.

The rest of the book is less satisfactory, not so much because it contains many unpalatable truths, as because these truths are put in too strong a light, and partly because they are presented in a form which renders them liable to be misunderstood by those who are not well acquainted with the United States, either by personal observation or by study. After noticing the Treaty of Berlin of 1799 and the Treaty of 1828—in which the United States were far from being eager to develop further the principles laid down in the Treaty of 1785, and even weakened and crippled them, in some respects—Mr. Kapp, in the appendix, very highly commends the exertions of John Quincy Adams in the right direction, and then goes on to criticise the position assumed by the United States in 1856. He contends that the well-known propositions of Marcy, in his despatch of July 28, 1856, were only put forth because he did not want to accede to the stipulations which had been agreed upon in Paris. He hoisted the flag of an extreme liberalism because under its protection he could stick to the old practice not only unblamed, but hailed by the civilized world as the true champion of progress and liberty. It cannot be denied that there is great weight in what Mr. Kapp says in support of this opinion on pp. 163-167; and he adduces very good reasons for his further assertion that here we have another baleful effect of the curse of slavery, which has weighed so heavily upon the United States. But although we are strongly inclined to consider Mr. Kapp's opinion correct, yet we cannot say that he has established its correctness beyond all doubt. It is, however, true that in questions of such a character it is hardly ever possible to press the argument home with such irresistible force as to convince those minds that do not wish to be convinced. At all events, he has proved enough to give no one the right, without ample counterproofs, to throw stones at him because he contends that the United States have sadly wavered in their struggle for the reform of maritime law, more than once sacrificing their principles for the sake of momentary expediency. But he has not proved enough to warrant his conclusions concerning the future. It is absurd to assert, as it has been asserted, that Mr. Kapp is striving to sow enmity between the United States and Germany. He simply admonishes the Germans to get rid of the sentimentalism which has hitherto very strongly tintured their judgment of the United States in its purely political capacity; and he deserves well of both countries for forcibly insisting on the truth that the best policy is always a strictly honest and reciprocal one—neither side trying to overreach the other. But it was at least unnecessary and impolitic to conclude the argument with an *oderint dum metuant*, which in fact, is not at all a correct summing up of what Mr. Kapp has himself been contending for, and which can in no way be applied from Germany towards the United States, or *vice versa*. But, even leaving that aside, Mr. Kapp's reasoning is too passionate not to offer several vulnerable points. He asserts that neither the wished-for reform in the maritime law, nor a just reciprocity in other respects, is to be expected from the good-will of the United States, and his argument in support of this assertion is based upon the general political status of the United States. What he says by way of characterizing this political status is undeniably true, but he does not say

enough to render the picture correct. It would hardly be possible to do so in such a limited number of pages as he could devote to this question, which is only remotely connected with the principal object of the book; and, besides, it may have been necessary to make the medicine rather strong to cure the Germans of their sentimental view of looking at the United States. But this will not be deemed sufficient to justify the historian, even though he has overstepped the line which separates the domain of history from that of politics. He draws his illustrations too largely from New York City, and the rest have so deep a coloring that he offers his adversaries too good opportunities to accuse him, with seeming justness, of having exaggerated. He says on page 181 that what there is "great and noble" in the United States keeps proudly aloof from political life. This sentence refutes the charge, which else could have been made with apparent justice, that he knows nothing great and noble in this country, and that he pretends to have pointed out *all* the main features of our life. But, on the other hand, the assertion is so sweeping that an unjustifiable inference with respect to the status of our political life must needs be drawn from it. The whole context, in the main part of the work, however, furnishes sufficient proof that Mr. Kapp does not consider our political condition quite so hopeless as the terms of this sentence, as well as of the second half of the appendix, would seem to indicate.

With regard to what the rest of the world may expect from us towards the reform of maritime law, Mr. Kapp does not sufficiently take into account the enormous changes which have been wrought in the condition of the country by the utter defeat of the secessionists and by the emancipation of the slaves. He will not deny that the latter has a strong bearing on the question at issue, as he has himself so forcibly urged the influence slavery exerted on the position assumed by Marcy. It is apparent how much the danger of war has been diminished for this country by the crushing of the extreme *State-rights* school and by the abolition of slavery; and it is evident that the less we have to fear war, the more we shall be inclined honestly to work for the abolition of privateering, which, in our peculiar situation, as Mr. Kapp himself concedes, is a good deal to demand from us. If the treaty of Washington had been concluded at the time when Mr. Kapp was finishing his book, he would have had a strong proof of the correctness of the assertion that we are in future comparatively secure against being involved in war, and one which would have made it appear more likely to him that—however it be with our willingness or ability to sacrifice expediency and occasional advantages to sound and humane principles—we should earnestly resume the policy of Franklin and John Quincy Adams, and not cease contending for it until the last consequences of it have been incorporated into the law of nations.

In conclusion, we may mention that Mr. Kapp administers a severe rebuke to the *Nation* for the position it assumed in No. 269 with regard to the "Freedom of Belligerent Commerce."

#### A TERRIBLE TEMPTATION.\*

WE do not know if we are prurient and prudish, which is what Mr. Reade has called some of his critics; it shall be as he likes about that; but we feel it laid upon us, as they say, to give it as our judgment that in this last book of Mr. Reade's there is an amount of gestation and parturition, and wet-nursing, not to mention life with the *demi-monde*, that makes "A Terrible Temptation" rather disagreeable to us, and, we fear, a book of dubious tendency. Sir Charles Bassett, who is first shown to us in the parlor of a woman whom he has had in keeping, is almost insanely desirous of a son; in fact, he is pretty safe to become insane unless Lady Bassett bears children. Lady Bassett, for her part, is a weak sort of person, who is almost ready to go insane unless her husband is pleased with her in all respects; and when she discovers him to be so strongly bent, heart and mind, on her presenting him with an heir, she feels "a terrible temptation." To do what? Mr. Reade endeavors strenuously to throw us into doubt as to what it is to which Lady Bassett is tempted; and it is in his particularly clumsy attempt to mislead us on this point, and prevent our seeing through his plot from the beginning that he lays himself most open to the charge of immorality and indecency. Really her ladyship, in her affectionate desire to please Sir Charles, whom she loves very fondly, is tempted to pass off on him as her own the child of her maid, who has been seduced. What Mr. Reade tries to make us believe to be the temptation is that Lady Bassett should be unfaithful to her husband, and bear a son to a Mr. Angelo, a young clergyman. There is something needlessly offensive, too, in the way in which this supposed

\* "A Terrible Temptation." By Charles Reade." Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871.

affair is treated. Unfaithfulness in wives is not unknown, especially in our novels; and we have all had to make up our minds to listen year by year to a certain amount of talk on that subject, and, indeed, have all agreed, reluctantly or otherwise, that it is a legitimate subject for the novelist, or even that it may legitimately be made his principal subject. But why need the moralist take pains to insist upon it that the virile sinner is big-boned, very athletic, and very dark-complexioned, while the female whom he moves to admiration of him is small, slight, fair-complexioned, and light-haired, and that it is on these physical grounds that they are attracted toward each other. This, however, is what Mr. Reade has done, and, in our judgment, he ought to be somewhat ashamed of himself for doing it. His management of the Angelo business is much in the tone of those highly anthropomorphic letters which some of the female correspondents write from Washington concerning this or that senator with whose views the correspondent happens to be in accord, and who, as the California satirist remarked, must "almost have dewlaps," if the admiring writers are to be believed.

"Usually Mr. Reade is—we had almost said, a pure writer. We should hesitate, however, to apply to him just that word, for while he certainly is not an impure writer, yet purity is a word not very precisely descriptive of him. The passion of love is what he has always dealt with; and with him love is always the flesh-and-blood love of entirely human lovers. It is clearly the love of the sexes. As we say, however, Mr. Reade usually treats of it without coarseness, although rarely without a warmth which, to speak within bounds, is not always marked by delicacy. And in the case of Lady Bassett and Mr. Angelo he passes over the boundary, and becomes coarse to the point of indecency. After the tortures and contortions of heroes and heroines of some of the modern schools, people with nothing but nerves and fine sentiments, with no blood in their veins nor flesh on their bones, it is not disagreeable to come upon men who are sound animals, who *wish* to be lovers, and healthy women who recognize the fact that all affection is not of the platonic kind, and that it is good to be loving and beloved wives; and we are among those who think that some of our women whom Mr. Reade has most displeased by his way of handling the female heart, and by his representations concerning men, do, in criticising him harshly, really make harsh criticism of themselves. But there is a very definite limit to the freedom which an author may allow himself in this regard, and Mr. Reade's taste and sense of delicacy have not always proved an unerring guide. It is proper, moreover, to be the more displeased with him in this particular case because his introduction of the clergyman at all is worse than unnecessary. Except novel-readers of a kind so unsophisticated that Mr. Reade should be above deceiving them, no one is deceived into forming any other opinion as to Lady Bassett's fault than that she passed off Mary Wells's child for her own, and our author's attempt to force the other opinion is at once resented, and he condemned for making it.

Sir Charles's natural desire for a child to perpetuate his name and succeed to his great estates is further increased by the hatred he bears his cousin Richard, who will inherit all in case Sir Charles dies childless, and who is an ill-conditioned person, with a native power of venomous hating, developed by long nursing. He conceives himself injured because Sir Charles's father, though a younger son, secured the estates which, but for misconduct, his own father would have had. All his hope is that Sir Charles, who has led a sufficiently careless life, may die without issue; and his endeavors to bring about that event form the staple of the novel. He begins—pretty near the beginning—by himself falling in love with the lady who, as Lady Bassett, is in the sequel to disappoint his hopes and plans; but his evil genius, Sir Charles, a very gentlemanly, good fellow—whose gentlemanliness, by the bye, as is apt to be the case in Mr. Reade's books, is a little too much insisted upon—finds no great difficulty in carrying off the young lady's affections. He is not to get her so easily, however. Richard writes an anonymous letter to Miss Bella, telling her that Sir Charles, who has just left her rapturously happy in the thought of speedy marriage, is, at that present writing, in the house of a woman of the town named Somerset. Bella shrieks, and her father, at once proceeding to the house of Miss Somerset, of course finds that Sir Charles has indeed been there; he and his lawyer were making a final call on the lady of the house, putting the necessary signatures to certain legal papers, providing for a complete severance of the connection between her and the baronet. Miss Bella's father forbids her lover the house, and the two are separated for a long time, in the course of which we have Miss Somerset figuring in the foreground, first as Sir Charles's nurse, in the dress of a sister of charity, and afterwards as Bella's adviser and helper in her

troubles, she being a young woman of resource and great audacity. Moreover, she has a talent for morality and piety unusual in any rank of life whatever. She is an amazonian sort of a creature—tall, strong, handsome, and healthy, imperious, untutored, but of much natural ability; very good-hearted, though hot-tempered—woman of the kind that Mr. Reade is as fond of taking for his secondary heroine as he is of taking, for his first heroine, the graceful, tender-hearted, affectionate, clinging creature who tells white and black lies when she is in difficulties, sheds tears, idolizes her husband divinely, and is, on the whole, Mr. Reade's ideal woman.

In his treatment of this secondary heroine and her surroundings, Mr. Reade avoids very thoroughly most of the impropriety inherent in the subject; but we do not know that in so doing his cleanliness is not almost as blameworthy—that is, supposing that the thing had to be brought in at all—as his coarseness in the passage of which we have been speaking. Hardly at all, and, indeed, we might say not at all, do Miss Somerset's steps take hold on hell, as in Scripture and in fact such steps are so apt to do. "Her house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead, and she hath cast down many wounded," beyond a doubt, but she appears here as a highly admirable young lady, does good to everybody, is generous, brave, and unselfish, and, in the end, makes an excellent wife and a field-preacher who, by her eloquence, turns many from their sins. There are such women as La Belle Somerset, doubtless; and probably some few such may be found among the rapacious, cruel, and stupid harlots of the *demi-monde*; but we suppose it was straining a point both in morals and in art to offer Miss Somerset as at all a fair specimen of her class. Still, to have done so is to keep the book cleaner than it would otherwise have been. Though, for the matter of that, we see little reason or none why she should have been brought in at all, and should imagine that Mr. Reade's passion for being venturesome and audacious he might gratify after some fashion less likely to be dangerous to his readers, than making them acquainted with a beautiful and virtuous demirep.

As the story goes on, it soon becomes plain that it is in the worse of Mr. Reade's two manners. He was always fond of exciting incidents and of situations dramatically telling, and he early showed a disposition to bring in extraneous matter, and make his story depend on two or three distinct and mutually independent sources of interest. He must have his Australian mining and his English prison discipline to add to the love of George and Susan; or, while we are following the thread of Alfred Hardie's fortune, he calls us aside to teach us the mysteries of speculation and of lunatic asylums. Such perfect gems of art as "Peg Woffington," and some of the other stories in which everything is beautifully evolved from a central motive which governs all the parts, he no longer cares to produce, and in their place we are yearly more likely to get from him some astonishing farrago of improbabilities, in which there is little of his characteristic excellencies except his wit, which is brilliant, and occasional flashes of light on human nature. Unity and natural coherence of plot, as in the early stories, which are of poetic and beautiful simplicity, we no longer expect; nor well-drawn characters, nor a probable story; and in this "Terrible Temptation" we get none of them any more than in its immediate predecessors, as "Put Yourself in his Place" and "Griffith Gaunt."

It is, however, as we have said, very interesting and very clever, and although Mr. Reade appears to have only too little respect for himself, and not enough for his readers either, it is certain that in losing the power or the will to delight he has not diminished in the least his power to amuse; and, moreover, might, if he would, keep us all pleased and excited, without hovering on the perilous verge of forbidden regions, or going over the border. It would be curious, by the way, to trace the connection between the improprieties of which we have spoken and that want of, we do not say delicate, but even decent reserve which has made it possible for Mr. Reade to introduce himself as a character in "A Terrible Temptation," and tell us his own opinion of himself, his method of working, his personal appearance, and the like. In itself this is perhaps all laughable rather than anything else.

#### MR. GREELEY AS A FARMER.\*

Of all the books that have served as a foot-ball of fun for men who were utterly ignorant of its subject, none has been more bandied back and forth than Mr. Greeley's bucolic effusions. "What I Know of Farming" has pointed the funny moral of all manner of political screeds, and adorn-

\* "What I Know of Farming." By Horace Greeley. New York: Carleton.

ed many an editor's tale of his neighbors' follies. As an illustration of political economy, of social manners and customs, of the woman's-rights movement, of the wickedness of the *Tribune*, of the folly of Mr. Greeley himself, it has been (or has been made) of almost universal application. All the newspaper world has had a fling at it, and those who themselves have known the least about its subject have hit the hardest. By an odd fatality, it has awakened the merriment of the whole editorial fraternity, and the result is that only those who have read the book have any just conception of its character. The agricultural press has had singularly little to say about it.

We have, ourselves, taken it up without a clue to its quality, and with no preconceptions to affect our judgment of it. We have found it to be a perfectly honest exposition of its author. Every page is redolent of Horace Greeley; his knowledge, his want of knowledge, his prejudices, his aspirations, his arbitrary judgment, his enthusiasm. All these—and all else that is in him—is as plain as sunshine through the whole text. Mr. Greeley's faults and Mr. Greeley's virtues are fully apparent. It is emphatically what "*I*" (H. G.) know (and think, and hope, and fear, and wish, and guess, and trust) about farming, and there is much room for fault-finding—perhaps some, too, for ridicule. At the same time, there is a vast deal that can only command respect and inspire confidence—confidence, at least, in the author's enthusiasm in favor of good farming (which to him is the best of all good things), as the channel through which down-trodden humanity is to sail out into the placid waters of the millennium.

As an instance of slapdash extravagance, Mr. Greeley "admiringly" dedicates his book "To the man of our age who shall make the first plough propelled by steam, or other mechanical power, whereby not less than ten acres per day shall be thoroughly pulverized to a depth of two feet, *at a cost of not more than two dollars per acre.*" An acre of soil two feet deep weighs about five million pounds, which, by its own weight and from the action of rains sinking through it, is tolerably well bound in place. It is not likely that this mass will ever be handled for two dollars while coal and labor command their present prices. Taken literally, this dedication is nonsense. As an illustration of the vehemence with which Mr. Greeley believes in deep and thorough cultivation, it is very effective. There are, in the book, very many instances of similar extravagance; but these will mislead no one, and at most they only detract from the effect of very much which is shrewd and sensible, which comes of an original way of looking at the faults and the possibilities of practical farming. It is to be remembered that our author was born in cold New Hampshire, where less than almost anywhere else does nature smile on her children; where (at least in his time) very hard and very patient toil brought little else than a bare subsistence. His early knowledge of agriculture was gained in a rough childhood, passed in poverty on a hired farm in this thankless land. He says that at this time he had not really learned much more of farming than a good plough-horse ought to understand. At the age of twelve he left farming and turned printer, and during the last half-century agriculture has been a beloved art with him, but never an occupation. It has had much of his thought, much of his money, not much of his time, and but a meagre share of his talent for success. Judging it by its treatment of himself, he would be justified in decrying Improved Agriculture as a deceitful jade whose smile lures to destruction. Yet his faith is as strong, and as cheerful, and as rosy as when he first began to dream of a higher farming than even Michi has forecast; and no one has ever better explained his motive in writing on an unfamiliar subject:

"I only lay claim to an invincible willingness to be made wiser to-day than I was yesterday, and a lively faith in the possibility—nay, the feasibility, the urgent necessity, the imminence—of very great improvements in our ordinary dealings with the soil. I know that a majority of those who would live by its tillage feed it too sparingly, and stir it too slightly and grudgingly. I know that we do too little for it, and expect it thereupon to do too much for us. I know that, in other pursuits, it is only work thoroughly well done that is liberally compensated; and I see no reason why farming should prove an exception to this stern but salutary law. I may, indeed, be deficient in knowledge of what constitutes good farming, but not in faith that the very best farming is that which is sure of the largest and most certain reward."

How strong this faith has been those know who have watched Mr. Greeley's own conduct. He bought a farm where nature had not only done nothing, but had made it impossible for art to do much, and he showered down his money like the rain upon its impossible acres. He applied to it "the very best farming," as he understood it, and if it had been possible to make a good farm of the rocks and morass

Chappaqua, he would have done it. That it is not possible in nowise deters him from trying, even; nor does it one whit discourage him in the wide dissemination of a knowledge whose vital importance he still believes in, in spite of its uselessness when applied to the surroundings of his own spring—for he bought the spring as a source of the purest water, and took the land incidentally; he has the sense to know that his failure, with such land, is a matter of course, and to argue from it the most complete success wherever farming is really practicable. Not only does his faith in the soil keep strong—he believes in every enthusiastic worker of it. The book under consideration has been written, we doubt not (indeed, he tells us so), that those young farmers whose steps incline upward may have the benefit of his encouragement, and we can well conceive that the greatest reward that could come of it was the glow with which he murmured, as he wrote this or that rhapsody: "That will help such a man," or "So-and-so will poke his plough-nose an inch deeper when he reads that!" As our readers may suspect, Mr. Greeley has not our fullest confidence either in party politics, political economy, social philosophy, science, religion, literature, or art—or even in agriculture; but no one who knows him can doubt his tenderness to all who love good farming, nor fail to admire the enthusiasm and benevolence with which he gives them both moral and material aid. Those young men may be counted by dozens who are indebted to him for their success in farming, and whose halting steps have often been supported by his ever-ready generosity. There was never a surer way to his affection than a fellow-feeling on farm topics, and any man of tolerable ability might have earned his support for the mission to France if he ploughed with a double team, and turned up a soil that had never seen the light before.

Let it not be thought that we are reviewing the author too much, and the book too little, for the book is not one to bear accurate criticism. What there is of science in it is not much, and not of much value—nor does it pretend to be. As a guide to practical farming, other works we could name are fully its equal. Its title is unfortunate, as it leads the reader to expect instruction that he does not get. Whatever Mr. Greeley may be in his secular vocations, in agriculture he is a poet—a man of the warmest enthusiasm and the gentlest feeling. He is a poet who has written himself down in his book, and, criticise him as sharply as we may, we shall be moved by his vigorous song of honest labor, intelligent ambition, and bursting barns, whether we will or not. It is rather sad to think that an unlucky title should have drawn only the light gabble of ridicule where so much praise and appreciation are due, and that so many wild statements and crude fancies in the book itself should have half-justified the misfortune.

To give a more precise idea of the character of the book than we have done would not be easy, for it contains so many inexact statements, and so much ill-considered advice, that we might easily discourage its perusal. Our desire is exactly the opposite of this, for, in spite of its faults, it will do vastly more good than harm, and, while few will be misled by its errors, many will be benefited by its influence. It contains the unrestrained expressions of a man of much ability, on a subject of which he really knows a great deal, and to which he has always given his best attention.

*Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology.* By James Freeman Clarke. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871. 8vo, pp. x. 528.)—The religions of which Mr. Clarke treats in this volume are Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, the religions of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, that of the Germanic race (especially the Scandinavians), the Jewish system, and Mohammedanism. His design is, by comparing them with one another and with Christianity, to bring clearly to view both their distinctive traits and their characteristic weaknesses; to show that each is at least defective in some important feature which is found only in the Christian religion, the latter being the "pleroma," or fulness of life, the one perfect and infinitely perfectible faith, the true universal religion. It is, however, in no narrow spirit, nor by the often exhibited methods of the special Christian theologian, that he reaches this result. He treats the ten condemned faiths in a spirit of the fullest reverence, anxious to bring to light whatever of good is contained in them, regarding each as in reality a religion, an essay toward the truth, even if only a partially successful one. This is the point of view to which the sincere enquirer is necessarily summoned by the deeper knowledge and wider charity of the present epoch of enquiry; and Mr. Clarke occupies it, so far as we can see, heartily and sincerely; in all his volume we have not noted a particle of unfairness, of bigotry, of boastful

superiority, of offensive unction. In this highly important requisite, his work is completely successful. In it, moreover, is brought together a great body of valuable and not generally or easily accessible information upon a difficult class of subjects. The author's researches have been wide-reaching and diligent; and their results, as set forth by him, are as generally reliable as those of a single student, and of one who takes up the subject by the way, in the character rather of a dilettante than of one devoted to such studies, could be expected to be. Of course, there are in every chapter statements to which well-grounded exception may be taken; of course, too, there is not a little of that mixing of bad authorities with good to which any but the profoundly versed scholar—and even he, in his own manner and degree—is liable. But, in the present stage of the study of religions, such faults are inevitable and excusable: so many points, even of prime consequence, are still in dispute, that he who would altogether avoid erroneous statement must be more than moderate and wary—he must practise absolute abstinence. To go through the volume and point out and refute what we cannot accept would require a protracted essay, and we have no idea of attempting the tedious and ungrateful task. It is but seldom that the author gets so far astray as in his suggestion (p. 230) that, Egyptian civilization being of Asiatic or Indian origin (a thoroughly exploded dogma), Egyptian religion was probably "a natural reaction from the extreme spiritualism of the Hindoos"—any excess of spiritualism in the Hindoos being demonstrably later by some thousands of years than the development of Egyptian culture; or as in his assumption (p. 184) of a grand geological convulsion and change of climate as the prelude to Zoroastrianism, and recorded in the first chapter of the *Vendidad*; or as in his absurdly fanciful recognition (p. 124, note) of a characteristic Hindoo tendency to Unitarianism in the three voices—active, passive, and middle—of the Sanskrit; or as in his overcredulous acceptance, from a notoriously unsound authority like Pictet, of the common Indo-European home as being "on the great plains east of the Caspian Sea" (p. 87), and "some 3,000 years B.C."

But if Mr. Clarke has thus approved himself an industrious collector and an impartial reporter, we cannot conscientiously award him praise

of a higher order. Of penetrating perception, of acuteness of divination, of power to combine, and organize, and present in new and faithful aspects, we do not find him possessed. His work will fill, we trust, a highly useful office in instructing and enlightening the general reader; but it will not perceptibly advance the scholar's comprehension of its subject. No one of the vexed questions of the study of religions is solved, or pushed forward towards a solution, by it. The Egyptian creed and practice, for example, remain the same painful and puzzling problem after its exposition as after those of its predecessors; the rise of Brahmanism and its change into later Hindooism are not less mysterious than before. The reasonings of the introductory chapter are in great part more specious and "genial" than profound. The author's distinction of "ethnic" and "catholic" religions is far less intrinsically important than that of national religions, and religions having an individual founder. And he commits what we cannot but regard as one of the most fundamental errors of which a student of the history of religion can be guilty, in postulating our original monotheism as lying beneath and behind the ancient polytheistic systems. This, to be sure, is also Müller's view; but it is one of Müller's characteristic weaknesses, and supported by arguments which will not bear a moment's examination.

A point of minor consequence, and admitting of correction in another edition, if the work should come to that, is the orthography of the proper names, which is both inaccurate and inconsistent to a degree that is very annoying. Now and then, too, Mr. Clarke is guilty of an exasperating bit of bad spelling. For example, what possible reason can he have for writing *Vishnu* always with a *c* in it, as "*Vischnu*"? Why Germanize the name of this divinity, any more than that of *Krishna*, or any other that contains our *sh* sound? We strongly object, also, to the spelling *fetisch* instead of *fetish*. The word is written *fétiche* in French, to be sure, but only for the same reason that it is *fetisch* in German—namely, because its final sound is that of our *sh*. Nothing but ignorance, then, or affectation, or undue subservience to foreign orthographies, would give it in English any other form than *fetish*.

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